Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [839] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 829

[POST Chaco Period]

Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians.

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos."

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization

[p.35-A]

/23 cont./

114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftainship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the statements made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to
[829] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work, the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo (1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the community. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population in general. (8)

> 8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived
121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among
177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that
178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

GM 175 648 561 GM [562] GM [563]

/34 cont./
fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)."(42) The

42. 1845:209.

GM 175 648 563

The chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

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43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

148 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,

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73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalũ, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalũ used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

/66 cont./

125 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of
the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
125 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an
awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we
were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the
Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of
which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter
theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had
fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as
All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the
month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades),
that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of
the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only
found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of
which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar
as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression
that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its
history. (124)

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124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 621 [166] [556] A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest 177 433 166 621 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich experience acquired by those families in their moves from one aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

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139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464] [159]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is 101 Kinikináu (one not being included). It should be explained ●829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 648 [241] [462] It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

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168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/108 cont./

798 thinks of himself and of the
829 "Catholics." Now the
[273] "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Believers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do
[212] not take life seriously." It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics"
[292] have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

771 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the
128 Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
648 genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[166] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
● 829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

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*177 349 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] [123] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 349 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] [571] [829] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Whereas on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

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*177 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimilation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed.

[361] [186] [571]

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/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
297 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
171 ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
82 chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
297 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
271 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
129 missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
291 "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
191 at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
295 aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
129 or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/135 cont./

*177 Protestant penetration which made the designation "Christian"
797 too broad. But since /136/ no effective Catholic action was
721 developed parallel to the Protestant action, the "Catholic"
795 Indians continued to identify themselves as such to the neo-
829 Brazilian population, more out of habit than conviction, thus
186 reflecting merely conservatory positions. The Protestant ideology, on the other hand, ushered in by means of far more effective techniques--to which we referred in Chapter VI--ended by galvanizing part of the Terêna population, a minority, but which came to acquire a far more powerful "group consciousness" or "party consciousness." The mechanisms that operated in the conversion, or more precisely, in the recruitment of individuals into the new politico-religious group, were already examined in the above-mentioned chapter. It should merely be underscored, regarding the Terêna as a whole and excluding individual cases, that these mechanisms reflect a tendency of the group toward change (far greater than the present conservative mechanisms that operate in the maintenance of the soi-disant Catholic group), and consequently opening the way to
*177 assimilation. Thus we had, in the activity of the Catholic
797 missions of the last century, (205) an important instrument of

205. The missionaries who came to work more intensively with the Terêna were the Franciscan brothers, who took the place of the Jesuit padres after 1767, the date when the Society of Jesus was expelled. In Chapter IV, we showed the precarious contact that the Terêna had with the sparse neo-Brazilian population and with the missions until the Paraguayan war.

/136 cont./

*177 797 Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 797 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

175 *177 648 [721] [829] 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/ as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas, invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso,

[text continues on p. 197]

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*177 666 648 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terêna to the city, where they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/ and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation, which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders. [622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the [466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 666 367 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the following way: those who live on fazendas have even less freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master, the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates. [829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

/138 cont./

and one more compatible with a democratic system, something that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way) and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened" position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

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developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,

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*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
648 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
175 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land protected by the federal government, the Terêna population was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment (cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikináu, the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikináu), unequipped to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
648 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a segregation imposed by the S.P.I., by direct, persuasive, or violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels" spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
648 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
● 829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
464 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
162 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

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/147 cont./ the securing and enjoyment of a right he had won. Let us leave aside, however, the indigenist implications of such an attitude and go on to examine its sociological aspect.

The first measure of the native-post superintendents was to collect the voting certificates in the aldeas themselves. There they managed to collect only part of them, and probably a small part--to judge by Cachoeirinha, where only a few agreed to give up their certificates; a large part of the Indians claimed that their certificates were to be found either at party headquarters (in the city) or in the hands of the electoral magistrate himself, from whom they would have to get them back in order to vote. As a result, some of the superintendents, eager to carry through at any cost the orders of their superiors, went to the cities on election day and tried to prevent the Indians from voting through every possible means. This was a veritable hunt and an extremely difficult task, since while the S. P. I. officials were assisted by one party, they were hindered by another that counted on the votes of the Indians in that particular aldea. Many voted, it is true. Perhaps a majority did, for not all of the officials endeavored to be so efficient....

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But the result of this was to make clear to the Indian that the distance between him and the society of the "Pururuya" is practically unbridgeable. And more: to be an Indian /148/ living in an aldea under the sight of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, (209) is to suffer discrimination too, which begins with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

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209. The detribalized Indians (urbanized and living on fazendas), as well as those living in aldeas that do not have a native post, were not prevented from voting, since, practically speaking, they were not under the control of the S. P. I.

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time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities, of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the parents dies, all the children of the family receive different names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow, remain unchanged after a death.

The spouses find each other again after death and then remain together. My informant, who is a widower, says: I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or, when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, nothing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the earth. My life never stops completely.

Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikũ, because otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too, and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or three days; formerly it was five days.